the anarchist

Volume I Number I

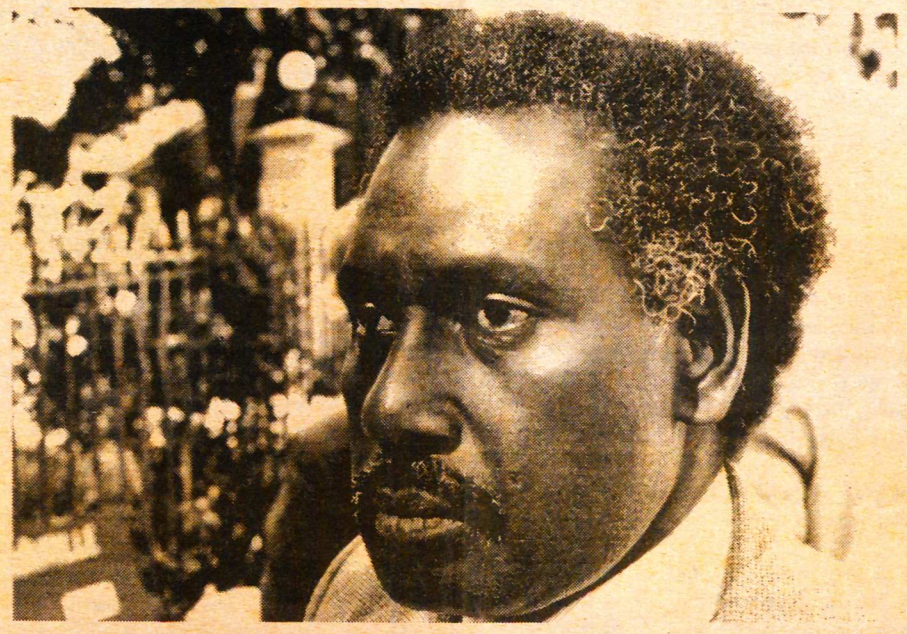
No God, No Master

PEACE ON BOUGANVILLE?

PACIFIC'S LONGEST WAR

The 25th South Pacific Forum held in Brisbane in August failed to officially recognise the Pacific's longest war since WW2. Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating dismissed criticism of the handling of the issue and the then PNG Prime Minister Pias Wingti claimed Bougainville was an internal matter for Papua New Guinea. As he spoke, the troops of the PNG Defence Force were mounting their most ambitious operation. This was the assault on the Australian owned CRA copper mine at Panguna; the main prize for the government in its effort to eliminate the Bougainville rebels (Conzinc Riotinto of Australia, a subsidiary of Rio Tinto-Zinc - ed.)

Despite reports that the PNG government was going bankrupt, the money was found for one last



BOUGAINVILLE INTERIM GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVE MOSES HAVIMI OUTSIDE THE 25TH SOUTH PACIFIC FORUM IN BRISBANE

offensive. Heavy fighting took place along the Panguna Mine Access road between the PNGDF and the Bougainville Revolutionary Army from the 31st of July and early August. Patrols pushed towards the mine but were met by BRA resistance.

HIGH SPEED

On August 15th, Papua New Guinea began an assault to take the mine site. Called Operation "High Speed", it involved a major three pronged advance to Moroni village, overlooking the mine site. The advances were backed up with helicopter landings of more troops. One PNG soldier was killed on the first day.

At this news Pias Wingti proclaimed that the civil war was over and the mine was taken. He was uncriticly reported by the Australian media. Newspapers and media outlets such as the AAP, ABC, Age, Sydney Morning Herald, the Courier Mail and the Australian Democrats Vicki Bourne all believed this was the case. By the 17th the PNGDF had moved near the mine site, including Guava village, the home of President of the Bougainville Interim government, Mr Francis Ona. Brigadier General Ted Dademo, the PNGDF's top officer claimed it was captured and that a care centre was being set up there. It seems that no one told the people at Panguna as villagers went about their daily chores near the mine.

DRAWING THE PNGDF OUT

At first the BRA offered little resistance to troops moving into the area. The strategy of the BRA was to draw the PNGDF out of their bunkers on the coast into the mountains were they were more vulnerable to attack. The PNGDF was also at the end of a precarious supply line with the only hope of supplies, relief or reinforcements for some soldiers being by helicopter. And they soon found out how precarious it was. On Monday the 15th of August, a "civilian" helicopter owned by Hevi Lift, a helicopter contractor for the PNG government was hit by BRA ground fire at Tonu. The New Zealand pilot, Mr Dennis Killip, was wounded in an attempt to evacuate a wounded PNGDF soldier from the battlefield in Siwai, South West Bougainville. The damaged helicopter was grounded at Wakunai on Bougainville. And later on Friday the 19th, the BRA counterattacked at Moroni near Panguna in Operation Warm Up. Over 100 rounds were fired at a PNG helicopter by the BRA using homemade guns, SLRs and machine guns at Moroni. According to the BRA this helicopter was owned by the "National Emergency Service" and bore an Australian flag. The helicopter was forced to limp back and make an emergency landing at Wakunai. According to the BRA the European pilot was also wounded.

Because of lack of air support, the PNGDF were in a panic. Counterattacks were made at Dampari, Java, Moroni and the Panguna mine site. At Lambalam, the PNGDF and militia "resistance forces" (Bougainvillians supporting the PNG forces) were attacked on the 19th of August. The Bougainville Revolutionary Army shot 8 army and resistance fighters and suffered 1 casualty themselves.

MOUNTING CASUALTIES

At the Mt Kaupara repeater station, a PNGDF unit that was landed there by helicopter was cut off due to lack of air support. They later had to retreat and a soldier was wounded on the 22nd of August. No helicopter was available to evacuate him. The same day, the BRA were able to attack the provincial capital, Arawa and 1 soldier was shot at Arco motors. On the 24th, 7 casualties were suffered near Guava. 3 were confirmed killed. Also killed was Major Kekebogi, the commander of the attack on Panguna; he died near Guava. More casualties were inflicted at the Mt Kaupara repeater station on the 24th. Lt Colonel Jerry Singarok, the PNGDF commander on Bougainville, was wounded on the 26th. His Iroquois helicopter was also hit on a mission to recover the casualties from Moroni. This heralded the disintegration of the offensive. PNGDF were in retreat and the BRA were on the offensive to regain the advantage.

According to BRA sources, casualties suffered by both sides up until the 26th of August were: PNGDF and resistance forces 41 killed or wounded.They described these as conservative figures. BRA had 1 killed and 3 wounded in action.

REMODELLING

One further clash occurred on Sunday the 4th of September. The PNGDF burnt down 34 houses at Moroni. This village was a "model" village set up by Bougainville Copper Ltd when the mine was established in the 60s. The PNGDF attacked despite orders to remain in static positions. Local BRA who lived at Moroni retaliated and killed at least 2 soldiers. One body was evacuated by helicopter. This was the most serious breach of the ceasefire but it has not jeopardised the peace process.

THE OFFENSIVE COLLAPSES

The collapse of the offensive and the rout of the PNG forces was now complete. Units were cut off and cut to pieces, officers were being killed and wounded, helicopters were being shot up and their pilots wounded.It was obvious operation "High Speed" had failed. What made these successes by the BRA more amazing was that their commander, Sam Kauona had left Bougainville as the attack on Panguna started. He described the attack as a complete flop and an insult to the peace process which the Bougainville people had embarked on. Martin Miriori from the Bougainville Interim Government stated that the fighting has helped the BIG negotiate from a position of strength. He said "The fighting has made a difference in the negotiations because of the pressure the BRA is putting on the PNGDF on the battlefront".

UN PRESSURE

The United Nations is also putting pressure on PNG to resolve the Bougainville conflict. The UN Human Rights committee passed a resolution on Bougainville on 25th of August. The resolution called on PNG to return to the negotiating table, to immediately allow medical supplies into the areas being blockaded by PNG and urged PNG to cooperate with the Special Rapporteurs on Torture and Extra Judicial Executions to enable them to investigate reports of human rights violations on Bougainvillle. The resolution also requested the Secretary General of the UN to consider the appropriateness of appointing a Special Representative concerning the human rights

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EDITORIAL

This is our first edition of a new quarterly anarchist paper. So why bother? Surely the Revolution is just a dream, a 19th century utopian myth? How can we have a society without laws and rules? It would just be chaos, a social jungle from which the strong would once more emerge to lord it over the weak.

Like many words anarchism has many meanings to many different people, in a similar way to words such as socialism, democracy and freedom. To those people who identify with the word and the tradition it represents, it does not mean no rules but no rulers or bosses. Anarchism has always been more concerned with justice than the letter of the law, but anyone who gets involved with anarchist groups will soon find out that it is not a case of anything goes, even if the rules are not always clearly stated.

The bottom line is treating people as equals, and in the way we would like to be treated ourselves.

While there is one part of the anarchist tradition which seeks freedom from authority through an individual solution, this is not what most committed anarchists would regard as "serious" anarchism. The main tradition is one of collective organisation and struggle against the state and the bosses.

That is what this paper is about, our struggle together to be free and equal.

It is intended to be a forum for debate at all levels, from the nitty gritty of particular campaigns to broad theoretical articles about the meaning of life, the universe and everything.

So if you've got something to say about a particular struggle or the whole goddam mess the world's in and what it means, write to:-

the anarchist
po box 332
albert st
brisbane 4002

CASH SCAM EXPOSED!

Money from the Bougainville Peace Restoration Appeal is going to the Papua New Guinea Defence Force. The appeal is supposed to provide funds to avert a Somalia or Rwanda type refugee crisis on Bougainville. Instead about $60,000 is going to the PNGDF to provide supplies for "care centres".

The appeal is being run by the Faces of Papua New Guinea Committee,which has direct links with the Papua New Guinea Prime Minister Sir Julius Chan.

FRONTLINE BOUGAINVILLE

In August, The Anarchist interviewed Jason Cornelius, a freelance journalist. Jason ran the Bougainville blockade in April 1994 at considerable risk to his safety. His boat was missed by a patrol by minutes on the way in and in July a civilian motorised canoe disappeared running the blockade. All four occupants are missing believed dead. He travelled widely in Bougainville and brings back this first hand account of life behind the blockade in Australias hidden war.

The @narchist: You've recently travelled to Bougainville. Was it very difficult to get a Visa from the Bougainville Interim Government?

Jason Cornelius: The Bougainville Interim Government gave me an invited passage through Bougainville and acknowledged papers that I took over there saying that I was an independent journalist and I was there to cover a war. The PNG Government weren't too happy that we were going. They run patrol boats around the island to stop supplies and journalists getting in. They are ordered to shoot to kill. About three days after we landed they found out that there were three Australians on the island and landed fifty men on the beach to stop us getting out the same way we got in.

The @: When were you on Bougainville?

Jason: I got there about 4th April and spent three and a half weeks there until early May. It's an area that hasn't been covered effectively by Australian journalists. I'm not sure whether they don't want to cover it because they don't want to run the blockade. We did lose five good journalists in Timor and I don't know if we've got any journalists who want to do that type of thing left. Or maybe it's an actual campaign of suppressing information about Bougainville and bringing the story back to Australia, I'm not sure.

The @: Who did you spend your time with and what parts of Bougainville were you on?

Jason: We landed in Koromira and travelled through Durraina which is south central Bougainville up to the middle of central Bougainville where the mine is at Panguna. At the mine itself we met the Cabinet of the Bougainville Interim Government including Francis Ona the President and Joseph Kabui the Vice President and Foreign Minister. We stayed at Guava village which is the home of Francis Ona. (Guava was the scene of heavy fighting in August 1994 where the PNGDF made false claims that they had captured it and several of their soldiers were killed -ed.) We also did interviews with Bishop Gregory Singkai who is a Catholic Bishop who stayed with the Bougainville people during six years of struggle, and also Sam Kauona who is the general and commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces of the BRA, an Australian trained soldier.

The @: What is the relationship between the BRA and the Bougainville Interim Government and the Bougainville people in general?

Jason: On the 17th May 1990, the Bougainvilleans declared their independence and established the Bougainville Interim Government (BIG) as their representatives. Then the Bougainvillean Government acknowledged the Bougainville Revolutionary Army (BRA) as their army. The BIG and the BRA are supported by seventy to eighty percent of the population. The rest are siding with Papua New Guinea.

The @: What is the nature of the low intensity conflict going on in Bougainville?

Jason: PNG's campaign is to control the beach and bunkers along the beach and effectively starve and under supply the BRA to the point where they eventually give up. The actual fighting itself consists largely of the PNG Defence Force going on patrol and getting ambushed by the BRA. The BRA don't have the heavy weaponry to attack the bunkers and the PNGDF don't have the willpower or the jungle expertise to go and get the BRA in the bush.

The @: Is there any hamletting taking place as it did in Vietnam on Bougainville?

Jason: The destruction of villages happens and the villagers are moved to "Care Centres". The PNG government refers to "Care Centres", though whether you call them "Care Centres" or concentration camps I think depends on whether you are a Bougainvillean or a Papua New Guinean. If they're lucky they give them one or two weeks food, then they are forced to start new gardens. They're occasionally allowed back to their old gardens to get a bit of food from them. When they can't get back and they can't get their own food then they just don't eat. They're rarely ever given clothes. No medical supplies whatsoever. The living conditions are really dismal compared to what the Bougainvilleans tend to have living off their traditional subsistence agriculture.

The @: What's the effect of the blockade on the health situation on Bougainvilleans?

Jason: What it means is that all recently introduced diseases are untreatable. There is syphilis, there's leprosy...there are all types of diseases that are just running rampant. Very simple treatable diseases with Western medicine, but because of the blockade then these diseases are rampant and about three to five thousand Bougainvilleans have lost their lives directly as a result of the blockade.

The @: I understand that the Australian Government and the Australian Army have provided services to the PNG Government and Army. Is there any direct evidence of involvement of Australian troops on Bougainville?

Jason: There are units of engineering soldiers in Arawa allegedly rebuilding the hospital. This is bullshit because it is just an excuse to have Australian troops in Bougainville. Arawa is the capital and it's been an area of intense fighting. So we now have Australian troops in a combat zone uniformed and armed.

The @: What's the attitude of the Bougainville Interim Government to Australia's role in support of the PNG Government?

Jason: The Bougainvilleans look upon it as war by proxy. It's the PNG Army that are doing it, but the war couldn't keep going without the funding by the Australian Government which supplies mortars and ammunition. We've got film of unexploded mortar bombs that were made only five kilometres from where I live. So the mortars, the ammunition, the Iroquois helicopters, patrol boats and speed boats all come from Australia.

The @: Were you fired on at any time by PNG troops while you were there?

Jason: Yes. We went to a hilltop overlooking a Catholic mission that been taken over by the PNG and they saw that there were people there. They could see us; they couldn't see our faces so they couldn't see that we were white. That made me feel safer. Luckily they didn't immediately fire. The bullets didn't come near us or anything like that. We never had to duck for cover or anything.

PROTESTORS OUTSIDE THE SOUTH PACIFIC FORUM IN BRISBANE IN AUGUST

The @: What is the attitude of the Bougainville Interim Government to peace talks?

Jason: The Bougainville people have alway called for peace. They are traditionally peaceful people which makes their living culture very different from the people of Papua New Guinea. They've always called for a planned Bougainville conference to end the war on Bougainville. They don't want the war to continue so they accepted peace talks with the Papua New Guinean Government. They have appointed representatives like Mike Forster, Martin Miriori and Moses Havimi to negotiate.

The @: Is it the PNG military who are sabotaging these talks?

Jason: It's known that the Papua New Guinea military isn't completely under the control of the government and the PNG foot soldiers on Bougainville certainly don't want to be there. They've actually mutinied twice and refused to fight for a while. I think that there are certain forces within the military that don't want to pull out of Bougainville on any account.

The @: Is it the case that atrocities are being committed by the PNGDF on Bougainville?

Jason: There are a lot of military atrocities by the PNGDF. These have been documented by the people who have run the blockade to get over there and get evidence and that evidence is available. They take a woman out, rape her while her spouse is in sight. People are shot in a system of paybacks whenever a Papua New Guinean soldier is killed. They radio back to the care centres and shoot one of the civilians. You know - executions, killings, torture.

The @; What is the effect of militarisation of the war on Bougainville?

Jason: The BRA are an army, but they are very much with the people. You see the types of effects where a young not normally warlike group like the islanders are taken away from their culture and put in a foreign war. There is no distance between the Bougainvilleans and the BRA because they feel so united with the people even though they are fighting a war. The BRA live with the people and are a part of the people.

The @: Is there any ultimate plan by the Bougainville Interim Government as to what they wish to do. Whether Bougainville should be a nation state or a federation or is there any vision as to the future?

Jason: They have a constitution drawn up and they have their code of laws and what they want is self-determination for their sovereign country.

The @: What is the message from the Bougainville Interim Government to the Australian people?

Jason: Stop tax payers money funding a war in Bougainville.

CHOICE IS NOT FREEDOM

I would like to have a few of those time lapse cameras around which would capture the subtle and obtrusive changes which are occurring in WEST END. We are in the fishbowl of the free market and are witnessing the rapid extension of limited freedoms: the choice of coffee, the choice of cafe, the choice of which real estate to purchase our investment properties from, the choice of which suburb to move to when the rent gets too high or landlords get "their kind of people" as tenants.

Well, that is my point of view, but to see what the changes and "gentrification" look like from your angle, a few people have put together a survey to gather opinions. The various ideas, and comments will be written up and included in the next edition of this paper.

This survey is not being done by scientists and you will not be scientifically selected. In fact we would be happy if you would select yourselves. If you are interested keep an eye out in local venues/shops etc. and you can add your version of life and changes in West End.

The survey is not right. If you disagree with the way a question is asked, or the absence of a question, please make notes in the margins or wherever. We want to get inside your minds. We want to know what you think, what you feel.

But remember this is not surveillance. It is fun. We are your friends. We care more than you do. We will look after everything so there is no need to be politically active. Do not stop patronising cafes. You really need a new car. I think the new Doc Martens are essential. Everyone has the right to be psychoanalysed.

CHOICE IS NOT FREEDOM

Shannon Adams

TECHNOPHOBIA

It's not the computers, it's the capitalists that claim that they own the bulk of our capital equipment and the resources used to manufacture them. It's not the computers, it's the bourgeoisie that set up large labour exploitative factories that manufacture a machine that you could build in your own backyard if provided with the technical education. It's the Patriarchs that create an elite male dominated hierarchy based on the computer language. It's the schools that tell women they cannot understand logic and thus bar them from the possibility of an unlimited communication network. It's computer phobic governments like the U.S. that employ companies like IBM to standardise encryption, so the world cop can listen in on what is happening. It's capitalists that take computers out of the hands of ordinary people by making them prohibitively expensive. Children who are not exposed to computers will be among the socially disadvantaged. They will be known as the computer illiterate and this will help to entrench the class system. It's poor public and private sector management that disempowers employees with mindless repetitive work and unhealthy working conditions. Computers speed up functional processes which should be used to make life easier. Occupational health should always be considered regardless of whether computers or bone thumping typewriters are used. Remember computers are simply a tool. Tools can be used for good or ill. Some of us don't drive cars but very few of us can say that they have never used a car. Cars cause a lot more pollution. Computers can even be used to monitor environmental safeguards. Many of the arguments presented against computers could be used against photocopy machines which at present are not even recyclable and yet I see anticomputer propaganda produced using one. Photocopy machines have CPU chips. There is an argument that computers have created an information hierarchy. This gives me hope because we are still at the stage where we can get hold of these information resources. If we fail to emancipate ourselves, we remain the ignorant victims of the computer age. We will become its slaves. The luddites learnt about the technology which was being abused in their time. They worked on the cotton gin machines and were skilled technicians. They understood that it was not the power of a useful machine but the power of those who mismanaged it that they were fighting. One more point - why bother attacking the petty bourgeois companies for providing parts for the proletariat to fix their own computers? Why not go for the right-wing big boys like Ross Perot who have made their fortunes developing military technology. Go straight for the source of the information monopoly - boycott IBM.

Bernadette le Goullon

CJC REPORT SAYS YES TO THE JOKE!

FITZGERALD FAILS

On Wednesday 13th July the Queensland Criminal Justice Commission released its long awaited "Report On Cannabis And The Law In Queensland". This report represents one of the final stages in the general review of the criminal law that was recommended by the Fitzgerald Commission of Inquiry.

With this report the Fitzgerald process is now effectively over. As a reform process it can be seen to have failed.

"DECRIMINALISATION PAST ITS USE-BY DATE"

The report recommends a number of reforms with respect to possession and cultivation of small amounts, but the author of the report, Dr David Brereton, and the head of the CJC, Rob O'Regan QC, made it clear at the media conference that these reforms in no way represented some kind of decriminalisation. Brereton said he thought that decriminalisation was a confused term that had passed its use-by date; something was either legal or illegal.

The report recommended making a simple offence of

(a) possession of 100 grams of marijuana or 20 grams of hash; maximum penalty six months jail and or $1500 fine.

(b) cultivation of not more than 10 plants; maximum penalty two years jail and or $6000 fine.

For first offenders it recommended that there be no conviction and a maximum $500 fine.

It also recommended removing the offence of using implements such as bongs, and recommended limiting search powers without a warrant for investigation of these simple offences.

NOTHING REFORMS

There had been some suggestions in the main stream media that the report would recommend a system similar to the expiation notices schemes in South Australia and the ACT. HEMP were somewhat more sceptical, and organised a picket outside the CJC in anticipation of the result. Media reports focused on some of the Hempers smoking defiantly on the picket line.

While the recommended reforms certainly look good by comparison with the current laws, which still provide for 15 year jail terms even for these small offences, in practice it represents no reform at all. The recommended penalties are based on current practice in the magistrates courts. So what they are giving us is what we've already got.

THE MIDDLE PATH

The Courier-Mail's feature article the following day was headlined "The Middle Path". Wayne Goss praised the report as "well researched and sensible". He said "I'm pleased the starting point of this debate is that the CJC has rejected legalisation, decriminalisation and on the spot fines used in South Australia and the ACT."

In other words, after all the fallout between the CJC and the government over the CJC's report on prostitution law reform and the government's rejection of it, this time the CJC has come up with a report that is thoroughly in line with government thinking.

What the report hasn't done is suggest anything that will change the black market marijuana industry in Queensland, which the discussion paper leading up to the report valued at $280 million a year wholesale, making it the state's second biggest cash crop, after sugar and ahead of wheat.

The Goss government's law reforms on prostitution made prostitution by individuals legal, but banned any form of brothels. But lately the brothels around the Valley have again become as conspicuous as they ever were.

SAME JOKE , NEW BOSS

It's business as usual. Goss's moral wowserism has given us the same old joke, under new management.

The report is full of contradictions and repeats many of the well worn myths about marijuana use, its health effects, and the law, even while mentioning clear evidence to the contrary. The conclusions of the report are clearly in conflict with its own research. The sudden unexplained departure of Phil Dickie from the committee after writing the earlier discussion paper is obviously part of the reason for this. The document reeks of an earlier draft which has been knocked back into line in a rewrite. In his column in the Sunday Mail, Phil Dickie headlined his own scathing *response "Its criminal what they're NOT doing".*

SAVING US FROM OURSELVES

At the bottom line, the report trots out the same old tired prohibitionist line about the need to ban dangerous drugs for the good of us all:-

"Although legalisation may have some benefits, the Commission rejects this option for the following reasons:

- Although the available research suggests that the effects of cannabis may not be significantly more harmful than some licit drugs, this is not sufficient reason for adding to the list of available drugs, especially given the national health costs associated with licit drugs.

- Even if a tightly regulated form of legalisation were adopted, the legalisation of cannabis, like the legalisation of tobacco and alcohol, would probably lead to an increase in the use of cannabis in the community.

- Australia's obligations under the Articles of various international drug conventions preclude the legalisation of cannabis."

The same reasons were given for rejecting decriminalisation a la ACT and South Australia. Under such a scheme use might go up, and maybe such a regime wasn't 100% kosher under our treaty obligations.

In the press conference, David Brereton said the reason 63% of submissions to the CJC supported legalisation and 73% supported decriminalisation was that pro reform groups had been actively lobbying, and it wasn't a true reflection of public opinion on the issue. But these figures are in fact in line with the CJC's own research. On pages 67-68 of the report the CJC publishes the results of a public opinion survey it commissioned. Of the 850 people questioned in the telephone survey, 47% supported legalisation, and a further 27% supported an on the spot fine.

THE LAW IS AN ASS

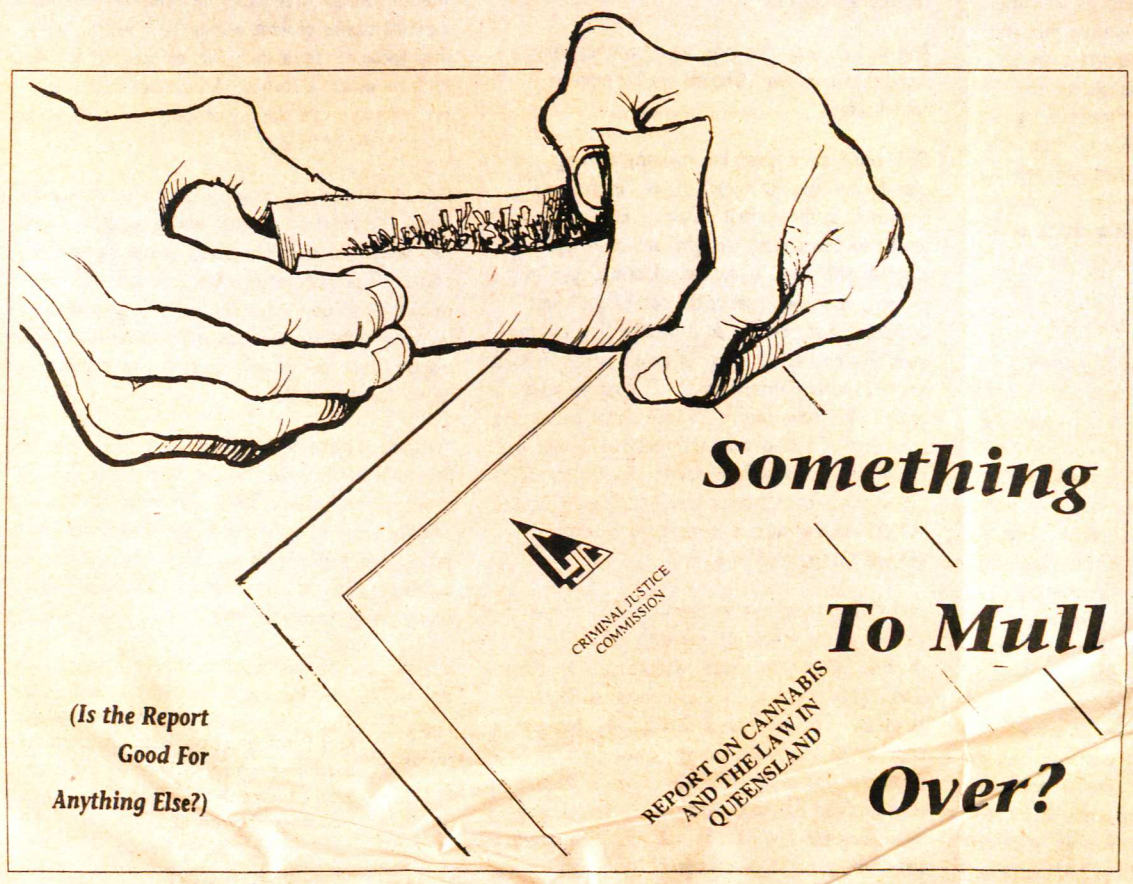
While the report gives the Goss government an out on drug law reform, Brisbane HEMP and other activists have no intention of letting the matter rest there. This year leading up to the report, we have staged two large demonstrations of 1000 and 1500 people. This process will continue.

The next major demonstration will be on Friday October 21. That day is the final day for submissions to the Parliamentary CJC Committee on the CJC's report. HEMP's submission will be carried to Parliament House on a giant donkey bearing the slogan The Law is an Ass. This will be followed by active civil disobedience, with some of us smoking openly in front of Parliament House.

Tony Kneipp Brisbane HEMP

"IT'S TIME!" — Brisbane, June 26

A HEMPER smokes openly in front of police lines outside the ALP State Conference



ANARCHISM, ANACHRONISMS AND SOCIAL ECOLOGY

There are two reasons why I still consider myself an anarchist. Firstly I believe that the critique mounted around the question of hierarchy by anarchists throughout the last two centuries is still not only correct but seems more relevant than ever when the assaults on our personal liberty take more insidious forms with the passing of time. Secondly, anarchism deals with freedom. Despite the current fad to promote the noxious anything goes type characterisation that the state and the private media love to gobble up, anarchism has always championed the rights of the individual within the group, be it the work place, the family, or the whole of society. These two positions place anarchism squarely on the radical platform with incredible potential for social emancipation and revolution.

Sadly with the advent of the New World Order has come the adoption of the new "natural" order. Hierarchal power structures today are accepted by groups as seemingly diverse as the heads of international state bureaucracies to the managerial social constructionists in private and state run business right through to what used to be called the more "progressive " of the social movements such as the peace or environment movements. Systems theories have been created in everything from economy to ecology that refuse to allow spontaneous or evolutionary processes any place to exist. Some so called ecologists even promote hierarchy as the "natural" order. The left is no better. Its academics have skulked off into the institutions to create post-modern dystopias. The inevitable outcome of these untouchable, anti-rational, intellectual cess-pits is the systematic destruction of history and the creation of ethical and moral voids. In such an environment it becomes impossible to ground oneself and find coherence. Often the very attempt to do so is seen as intellectually oppressive! The vacuum thus created is presently being rapidly filled by the right. The individualism championed by post-modernists and some anarchisms these days could just as easily come from those that sit in the boardrooms of Westinghouse or General Electric. With such a ruthless and thorough incorporation of the ideals of the left into this consumerist culture, we are staring at the total disintegration of meaning!

Similarly, discussions about freedom and the concept of a free society (Utopia) are tragically absent from what passes for radical debate. It seems that the only freedom ever discussed these days is personal freedom. Placed within a social framework such debate can have real meaning when talking about the role of the church/ state/ police/ military and its impact on the individual. However it can just as easily degenerate into freedom from social responsibility and narcissistic, yuppie like neurotic obsession with personal desire. The left seems bereft of thinkers/dreamers who can conceive of another reality. It has continually demanded a state of slavery/ tyranny for it to even conceptualise its absence! The right talks about freedom far more eloquently and convincingly than the left and has developed an integrated vision based firmly on peoples fear of the unknown (god) and fear of each other (social darwinism) to articulate the brave, competitive new future. As anarchists we should be describing other realities, other possibilities.

The emergence of coherent and radical philosophies like social ecology help me to remain optimistic. Its roots lie in anarchism and the ecology movement. At the core of this work is the understanding that ecological problems are first and foremost social problems. Its major proponent, Murray Bookchin, draws heavily on organic traditions in western philosophy from thinkers such as Hegel. He talks about human freedom within the framework of social responsibility. Particularly illuminating is his analysis of the emergence of hierarchal power from tribal cultures to the present degree of sophistication seen in western capitalism. He parallels the unfolding of organic potential in the natural world towards more and more complexity with the development of complexity in culture.

As agents for social change what we need is a more sophisticated understanding of the political and social systems that allow unbridled rapacious capitalism to plough us under in its wake. Along with alternative social systems we need to create different economic systems that not only dual power the state but give meaning to work.

In a time where history is rapidly becoming irrelevant and the most important thing in the world becomes our own egos, the coherence provided by ideas like social ecology can not be underestimated.

Darryl Eyles

POWER

I was yet to feel my own
power
If power arrived in my letter box
I'd think
it was another catalogue

But then power
found me
I was bathing my child
I was healing my spirit
I was working to stop rape
technically I was still in disgrace
male-identified, dependant, de-
pressed.

Power moved so close to me
I could smell cotton
and sweat
I wanted to dance
I wanted to exonerate myself
I wanted to respond for all I was
worth

Undo all my closed bits, shake my
hair, move about
feel her energy
and my own
strength.

LYNDA RUSHTON

GIRLS CAN'T DO ANYTHING

GIRLS CAN DO ANYTHING proclaims a bumper sticker which is a popular feature on the rear end of West End cars and bicycles. Important though this assertion may be it always prompts me to consider how real is the range of choices facing women and men in everyday life. Are we truly able to walk through life like a supermarket and pop our chosen activities in our shopping trolley? Is what stands between us and freedom just a choice of which lifestyle to consume?

I suspect not.

As a member of a West End group of women interested in anarcho-feminism it appears to me that an understanding of power is essential in extending the ways in which we can experience empowerment and real choice. This power is not a simple door to a wide world, a door which women (and men) can open and then take their chosen direction. The power oppressing women is not a simple glass ceiling preventing career advancement, a ceiling which could be shattered to liberate women to become managing directors and presidents in turn. Neither is it only that violence which might wound us in our home, or that violence which could force itself into our bodies. For I perceive us to be entwined with delicacies of power which are far more insidious than what society does or does not permit women or men to do. The power is inside our bodies already. Painting our pictures, influencing our words and absence of words, judging ourselves and our bodies, and present in our most deeply considered choices.

And so I do not think girls can do anything, any more than men can. Choices are far more complicated.

Girls could do anything but so many anythings are outside our current imaginings, or are rendered impossible in the current culture. Even words are unable to frame many thoughts and so thoughts are charged with vague sensations. I have a quickening of my pulse when I sense the possibility of what I could do. But I do not do it because IT does not exist as a choice. IT does not have a place. IT does not have money attached to it. IT does not have a name. Yet how many of us have similar desires and imaginings of relationships and lives less warped by the abuses of hierarchical power, less constrained by the demands of an economy in which money equals self esteem and success is measured by rising through the pyramid of control.

And so I consider that we must continue to give thought to the making of new ways and new choices, and also to create relationships with those who might imagine a world as different to this one as we do. Because none of us are pure. None is unshaped by the experience of Power Over us, through us and *in* us. Men who chose to become anarchists can no more purify themselves of sexism by wearing the ANARCHIST label than they can by swallowing a bottle of detergent. Their words grow louder in the face of domestic activity. Neither are women suddenly free from the constraints of the standard stories of what it is to be a woman when they encounter feminism. Our old desires do not fall from us like a cocoon. Instead we might hide our impurity more closely, or deny our sexism with more sleight of hand.

Politics and personal change begin in our everyday lives. The grand plans which we lay take their first step before we leave our beds, in our sexual politics. The shape of our lives is not an individual responsibility but a continual feat of choosing among limited possibilities and admissible dreams which are shaped within the power structures of contemporary Australian societies.

We cannot make ourselves suddenly new. I do not believe in mystical rebirths (or I should be dunking myself in the Brisbane River) but we might become different parts of ourselves in the community of others with similar desires. All of us might do anything, among those committed to freedom and change in our everyday lives.

Without support and commitment, it is more likely that we struggle individually to make a confined but, possibly, comfortable nest, in the corner allowed us. In such corners one can certainly not *do* anything!

Shannon Adams

SOCIAL ECOLOGY - SOME CONCERNS

SOCIAL ECOLOGY - SOME CONCERNS

Murray Bookchin is unquestionably one of the most interesting anarchist theoreticians to emerge in recent decades. It is impossible in the space given to produce as comprehensive a critique as is required to do justice both to the scope of Bookchin's work and to its inherent problems. I will touch here on only a few concerns.

TRUTH AND POWER

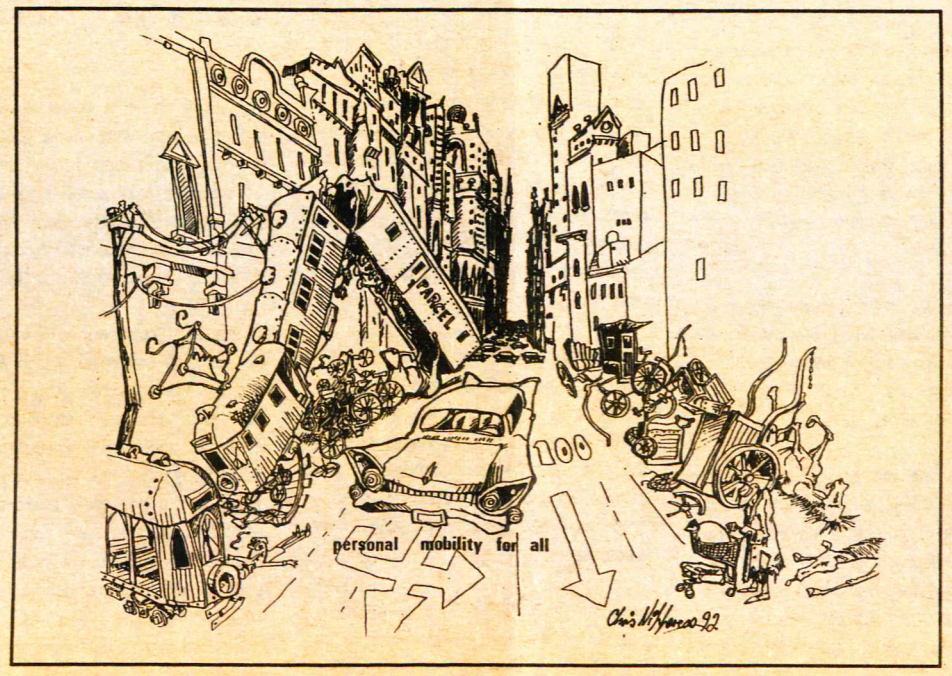
There's not much new about a person in the West taking as their task the discovery of the ordering principles of history, within culture, within reality itself. Just look at Hegel or Marx. The problem arises in the claims these folks make to universal truth. The construction of Truth always represents a massive grab for power - the power of framing, the power of naming, the power of valuing. Marxism is a case in point, surely the greatest act of political chutzpah the world has ever seen. At a time when the very act of creating such similarly ambitious projects are finally being questioned and challenged, Bookchin emerges as a self-described defender of the Western right to present the Grand Truth. His particular version is (politically) Social Ecology or (philosophically) Dialectical Naturalism.

NATURAL PROGRESS?

So what are the realms of power present in social ecology, what is its particular regime of inclusions and exclusions? Again, there isn't space to deal with them all, but a crucial exclusion is contained in its developmental view of evolution, the "directedness" and "becoming" reflected in dialectical naturalism. Although Bookchin tends to play this aspect down, other social ecologists accept that such a perspective places them firmly in the teleological tradition of Western thinking. What this implies is that evolution has an inherent purpose and direction, it moves towards a predetermined goal. Bookchin views this dynamic as applicable both to the biological world and to the human social world, creating a perspective that lends support to theories of cultural evolution - the idea that human culture moves through stages, from the most basic (often referred to as primitive, or simple) through to the most advanced.

THE WEST IS THE BEST

It's not surprising to find that the folks who construct schemes which depict culture evolving as a rule tend to put their own towards the advanced end of any sequence. For Bookchin, it is indeed Western culture, its modes of knowledge and world views, its intellectual history which is seen as holding the most promise for fulfilling the purpose of evolution. The vast array of indigenous peoples, their knowledges and world views, their lifeways and struggles do not feature in Bookchin's work except when relegated to the past, as early "organic



societies" illustrating past events or previous stages in the course of human history and development. They are universally described as "preliterate" or "primordial", and unfortunately, "flawed" in numerous ways, most notably in possessing features of "nascent hierarchy" - what Bookchin interprets as inequalities based around age and gender, and which eventually give rise to the fully blown hierarchies we are all familiar with.

The ethnocentricity and cultural arrogance of such a position is breathtaking but again not particularly new for the universalising Western intellectual. Interestingly, while challenging Marx's theoretical elevation of questions of production and economic exploitation and replacing these with notions of hierarchy and domination, Bookchin ultimately simply reproduces the classical Marxist depiction of indigenous peoples and their static culture left behind in the process of historical advance.

THE PURPOSE OF NATURE

Bookchin is unable however to explain in any meaningful sense just how these original inequalities and nascent hierarchies emerged, given the evolutionary impetus (as he interprets it) towards non-hierarchical social and ecological forms inherent in the Purpose Of Nature. Simply saying that things happened a certain way does not make them so, but this is a common problem within Bookchin's work. Additionally, Bookchin draws on an extremely limited range of material for information to support his generalising about indigenous cultures, and exhibits a total lack of appreciation of the current controversies raging in the anthropological world around issues of the authority and legitimacy of past and present ethnographic representation. Not the least of these is the claim that sexism within early, frequently colonial, accounts led to a widespread neglect of the role of women in indigenous societies, problematising the easy accusations of inequality or injustice that are aimed at indigenous people and which continue to be used to justify the destruction of their lifeways and knowledges by those who consider their own morality, ethics, civilisation or political purpose as superior.

LIVING CULTURE

There is a major contradiction at the heart of social ecology. It is committed to diversity as an expression of dialectical naturalism but fails to take serious theoretical account of one of the most evident diverse productions of human beings - culture. If there is inherent, objective value in natural diversity, then the multiplicity of forms of human cultural expression must surely also contain value, must also reflect evolutionary teleos, purpose. If indeed Nature is to find its voice through humans, must this voice take only one form, that of the Western cultural tradition, rather than continuing its dialectic movement towards diversity and complexity through an abundance of human voices?

The reality is that those areas of the world with the greatest enduring biological diversity are the remaining homelands of (living, breathing, present-time) indigenous people - the ecological credentials of their systems of knowledge are therefore self-evident. Are Bookchin's? At the same time many of these peoples are actively resisting their forced incorporation into the world economy and its client states - surely any contemporary liberatory social theorist must approach ideas of the global with a great deal of cultural humility.

NEW IMPROVED TRUTH

Finally I'd like to pose a more general question: which of the following seems the more anarchic approach, which orientation seems to lend itself to a greater fostering of self determination and genuinely participatory democracy? To attempt to sell the masses yet another 'New Improved' version of universal Truth fresh from the oven of Western Enlightenment ("forget Marxism, Anarchism or Feminism, lets do the Dialectical Naturalism)? Or to develop instead a thorough understanding of the ways in which elements of power and hierarchy operate through the creation and validation of all truth and knowledge claims, and to reach for social visions and practices based on an affirmation and politicisation of difference, multiplicity and diversity? I'll leave it to you.

END NOTE - It seems to need repeating as often as possible that the outcome of a position that affirms the partiality of all knowledge claims is not necessarily the embracing of absolute relativity. This accusation is as easy to make as the one about all anarchists wanting chaos, and just as flippantly ill-informed. Creating the discursive space for radical plurality, for the radical democratising of any emancipatory project, is not the same thing as the total absence of any basis for constructing personal or community values. For those who continue to think it is, and for anyone interested in exploring in greater depth some of the ideas underpinning this article, the works of Elizabeth Grosz and/or Anna Yeatman are a good instruction; both women are writing in Australia now and both provide accessible and stimulating accounts of the relation of the postmodern to the political (and feminist).

Philip Winn

KIWI TROOPS IN BOSNIA

Yesterday, 200 New Zealand troops left for specialist training in the U.K. in preparation for deployment to Bosnia. A total of 250 Kiwi troops will be Bosnia-bound by the end of the month as a result of a deal struck between John Major and Jim Bulger. The deal done at Downing Street guaranteed the troops in exchange for the first British warship visit to visit New Zealand since the anti-nuclear weapons ban and legislation in the mid-80's. Bulger is hoping this "cannon fodder for ship visit" swap will be the beginning of the end of New Zealand's isolation in matters of global death-dealing imposed since the nuclear warship ban and subsequent collapse of ANZUS. He is hopeful that Clinton will follow suit, begin to send warships and normalise military relationships.

The New Zealand peace movement got much more than it asked for when the Lange government embraced the anti-nuke ship ban as a path to power in 1984. The over reaction by the "neither confirm nor deny" Americans ended ANZUS and imposed neutrality on New Zealand. The Anti-Nuke position became so entrenched in the electorate that Lange was able to pull its legislation out of the hat to win a second election. The National Party conservatives were forced to embrace the legislation to win back power in 1990. All these governments have made every effort to sidestep its consequences - this has included voting patterns in the U.N., the weekly USAF Starlifter flights through Christchurch to Nurrungar & Pine Gap and sending a token contingent of Kiwis off to support nuclear armed forces in the Gulf Massacre.

The New Zealand peace movement has failed to celebrate and support neutrality as a valid way to be in the world. It remains largely uncritical of the United Nations, now more than ever a Post Cold War arm of American foreign policy. Lessons from Vietnam & World War I (let alone Somalia, Cambodia and The Gulf) seem ignored as everybody from Ministers to Labor Opposition to Barry Humphries sidekick cheers on the training of these young men. The national vibe is as though they are training for a Rugby test on some distant playing field, rather than heading for the minefields of potentially the prelude to World War III. The 240 Kiwis will be under the tutelage of the commander of the British SAS - responsible for their fair share of ethnic cleansing in the Catholic ghettoes of Northern Ireland. They will also be joined by 2500 Turkish troops who have been busy slaying Kurds for the last 20 years.

The first Kiwi contingent are being drawn mainly from the Linton-based "Whiskey Company" and will arrive in Bosnia at the beginning of August. They will be replaced after six months by a contingent from the infantry battalion at Burnham Camp, just outside of Christchurch. We have recently begun vigilling against the deployment - at both Burnham and the city's military recruitment centre. It always shocks me how young these guys are and the real possibility that they may step on one of the two million mines laid over there or be shot down by weapons that some guy in a suit & tie has made a profit from. It always amazes me how principled the politicians' rhetoric sounds - whether they be Croatian, Serb, Muslim, US or Kiwi - when sending young men and women to the slaughter. When one of these Kiwis comes home in a body bag, you can ask the question - was it worth a visit from the imperial navy? Because stripped of the empty rhetoric - and in the absence of addressing the root causes of this latest war - that is what this deployment is all about.

Ciaron O'Reilly
Christchurch Catholic Worker

A PROPOSAL TO SET UP AN ANARCHIST COMPUTER NETWORK

A network is a system of linking computers so they can share information. There are several types of net, but the one that interests us most is the BBS type network.

BBS stands for Bulletin Board Service. It describes a system where there is a central computer which users can call, using their own computer and a phone line. A BBS may have message areas (where users can leave messages to each other), file areas (with a variety of text and software files available), games and possibly a system for users to chat to each other "live" (if there's more than one phone line connected to it). Or there may be any combination of these services.

Two or more BBS's can be linked together by a network to enable the passing of messages and files between them. They could be in the same town, or on opposite sides of the world, and it allows the users of (callers to) one BBS to communicate with the users of any other BBS in the same network. This communication is done by sending messages, rather than direct chat.

To give a practical example of this: you could call a bulletin board in Darwin today, leave a message addressed to the user of a BBS on the same network in Madrid and possibly get a reply tomorrow (although it's more likely to take a bit longer than that). All for the cost of two local calls. Files can be sent via a network in a similar way.

There are numerous anarchist groups and individuals scattered widely throughout Australia. Most of us are connected in some way by a network that is more accurately described as a "grapevine". This grapevine ensures that a lot of us are kept in touch to some extent with what's going on in the anarchist scene around Australia. However, it's a very haphazard system, often slow and sometimes wildly inaccurate.

We live in the most sparsely populated continent on earth and if we are ever going to build a strong anarchist movement, we have to be united over very long distances.

Mail, telephone and personal contact are, and always will be, an important part of this. However computer networks are the most efficient means of reliable, constant and fast mass communication. The government, business and the media all use these systems increasingly more effectively and if we don't start looking at this within the anarchist movement, we are in serious danger of being rapidly left behind.

I am personally a confirmed luddite and have strongly resisted compulsive use of computers and technology. But, despite looking at it from this point of view, I have come to realize what an essential tool computers are in a scattered community like ours.

What I'm proposing is the establishment of a network of computers set up by group of collectives throughout Australia. Any collective that wants to get involved will have to somehow get hold of a computer (preferably an IBM or compatible PC) and a modem. All the software required for joining the network is readily available, as is help with, and advice on getting set up.

Ideally, there will eventually be at least one collective in all the main cities and hopefully also a few in other places too. These collectives will be responsible for the operation and administration of their part of the network and jointly responsible for the administration of the whole net.

How the individual collectives operate outside of immediate networking responsibilities may well vary from one to another. How we all link together will be pretty standard, but how each collective chooses to use their access to the net will be up to them. For example, it will be possible to run a public access bulletin board to allow people to call up from outside and gain access to the network. This BBS could be open to anyone interested or it could be private and only available to authorized users.

Another possibility is the use of the network to produce a nationwide and possibly international newsletter, which could be published in a form that suits local readers. The material would be easily available and with the right equipment and software, the production of a newsletter or magazine could easily be at least partly automated. This would put our media on a more equal footing with the commercial press and allow people who don't have access to a computer to access information from the net.

Something else that could be done is to set up a community media group, allowing people outside the network collective to have access to a computer. This would encourage more input to the net and allow those who haven't got access to computers to join in.

Eventually, I hope we will be connected not only to collectives within Australia, but to other anarchist groups all round the world. There are anarchist computer networks operating in Europe and we could fairly easily link up with them. There are undoubtedly anarchist groups with computers in New Zealand and North America who we could also connect with. In fact, ultimately, wherever there are anarchists and computers, we could be in direct contact with them. This will make it much easier to share ideas internationally and to find out what's really going on around the world without having to rely on the lies of the capitalist media. It will also lead to a much greater strength and international solidarity in the anarchist movement worldwide.

We need to work on both the national and international aspects of the network more or less together. However, until we've got a network going here, we won't have very much to offer an international network in return for all the information that will be coming our way. I feel we must have at least two Australian cities in our network before we commit ourselves to linking up overseas. This will not only increase the flow of material but will share the burden of maintaining the international connections.

Finance for the network is something that we will have to think about. It can be set up very cheaply, but the running costs will mount up, particularly with the expense of maintaining regular overseas communication. We will need some means of covering these expenses collectively.

If you're interested in becoming part of this network, the first thing you should do is form a collective with other interested people in your area, get yourselves some computer equipment and then get in touch with us.

Contact: @NET collective, c/o :-
The @narchist
P.O. Box 332,
Albert St,
Brisbane 4002
or call "the eXchange" bbs 03-383 3094

DUMPING AND BUSSING IN WAYNE'S WORLD

Police and Aborigines have never seen eye to eye in Brisbane. From the Mounted Police of Colonial times to the present Queensland Police Service, relations have been strained to say the least. After the death of Daniel Yock on the 7th of November and the violent affray outside Police Headquarters the next day, the relationship was effectively dead in the water.

The events of the 8th of November resulted in five police officers being judged deficient in their duties, police communications breaking down, confusion in police command and a division in the police service. The "aggrieved" police believed that the "deficient" police were too familiar with the Aboriginal community and accused them of inciting the riot and preventing arrests from being made. The "deficient" police believed that arrests would further inflame the situation. Acting Commissioner Bill Aldrich called the decision not to arrest or "unarrest" suspects an error of judgement and not a breach of discipline.

The police investigation into the incident recommended that a spy be placed in the Aboriginal community. This report also accused Aboriginal Police Liaison Officers of being too familiar with the Aboriginal community and erring towards Aboriginals at the demonstration. Other eyewitness accounts claim that the riot was sparked by a crude death threat by plainclothes detectives to a young Aboriginal man that he would be "the next" after Daniel Yock. Two Aboriginal demonstrators have been charged with assaults on police and three others have had warrants issued for their arrest in relation to the incident.

This sad state of affairs has largely led to the total breakdown of Police Aboriginal relations. Police who may have been in a position to help relations are under virtual siege in the police service and are being denied crucial information and timely notice of problem areas in police Aboriginal relations. The Queensland Police Union's Bob Brummel has blamed the deterioration on "elements" in the Aboriginal community. He said that some people were aggrieved by the outcome of the Yock case, were grasping at straws and attempting to incite conflict between police and Aboriginals that in reality isn't there. Unfortunately, Mr Brummel can't see the wood for the trees.

There have been brawls in Fortitude Valley between police and Aboriginals and raids on hostels in the West End area. Regular readers of the West End Neighbourhood News may recall an article in the February 1994 edition called "Guilty of Being A Witness". In that article police were accused of raiding the Baynes St. Hostel without lawful excuse, assaulting three residents there and were later accused of asking after one of the witnesses in the Yock case by name. These allegations are now the subject of complaints to the CJC. Aboriginal people have also complained of police harassment in West End and the Valley areas. Police have been continually stopping and searching them, shining spotlights on residences and hotels and even serving warrants on Aboriginal people while they are drinking at the bar of hotels in the Valley. This tactic of continual pressure on Aboriginals has intensified in recent months. The effective defeat of reformist police in the service and the perception by some police that they have an open hand after the Yock case has seen the situation become worse.

Just when we thought things couldn't get worse, they did. In the early hours of Tuesday, May 10th six police officers in three marked police cars took three young Aboriginal youths aged 12, 13 and 14 for "a ride". They were driven from the Fortitude Valley mall to Boggy Creek at Pinkenba, more than 12 kilometres from the city. There, according to the youths, the police threatened them with drowning and assaulted them. The police told them to stay out of the Valley Mall. The police then asked one of them how many fingers he had and then told the boy to place his hands on a piece of wood and threatened to chop off his fingers. Police also threatened to dump the boys in Boggy Creek. The three were then forced to remove their shoes and one officer then threw their shoes into the dark bushes. The three were then left to find their own way home, sleeping in bus shelters along the way.

The Aboriginal community is outraged at the incident and has called for a Royal Commission into Police Aboriginal relations. Sam Watson from the Aboriginal Legal Service (ALS) has described the incident as one of "ethnic cleansing". The ALS feels that this is part of a campaign to move Aboriginal people out of the inner city area. They are also suing the Police Commissioner and the State of Queensland. The Aboriginal Legal Service complained to the CJC on Wednesday the 11th of May and the Police Minister, Paul Braddy, Police Commissioner, Jim O'Sullivan, and the Family Services and Aboriginal and Islanders Affairs Minister, Anne Warner, were made aware of the allegations.

The CJC immediately started an investigation and started collecting evidence. They discovered some corroborating evidence from witnesses at Pinkenba. The most curious part of the investigation is that the CJC seem to concentrate on the evidence of the victims. The CJC took until Tuesday the 24th of May to interview the police involved. This is despite the statement of Union General President, Sergeant John O'Gorman, that the six cops involved " as soon as they saw that there was a problem,....that's obviously us and contacted me". It was nine days between the police suspects identifying themselves and the CJC supposedly interviewing them. The delay was put down to the "unavailability" of the lawyer for the suspects. In relation to this, Sam Watson said, "Bring the lawyer for the police in off the golf course, if necessary."

The CJC must have been aware of the identities of the officers who claimed involvement in the affair and it seems highly unusual to say the least that the CJC investigators took so long to approach the Police Union. In investigations such as these, and especially when there is so much speculation in the media, it is crucial that interviews be done with the accused with all due haste. The other problem is that we have a situation of police (or former police) investigating police and as the not so distant past has shown in Queensland that whitewash can come in many forms. The other danger is that the copper's mates may try and help them out. Police have been around to one West End hostel asking for the three boys involved in the incident by name.
The word on the street is that the six

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PEACE ON BOUGAINVILLE

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situation on Bougainville. This move served to further erode PNG's reputation in the international community.

NEGOTIATIONS

Sam Kauona arrived in the Solomon Ils on Friday the 26th of August and met with Francis Saemala, Foreign Minister of the Solomon Ils. Mr Saemala then convened a meeting between officials of the Government of Papua New Guinea and "the Organisation known as the Bougainville Interim Government" and the Bougainville Revolutionary Army on Saturday the 27th. Sam Kauona was present in negotiations for the first time since the crisis started in 1989. The meeting was held in a full and frank atmosphere and resolved that the first priority was ceasefire and peace. Other issues to be discussed were the convening of a Pan Bougainville peace conference between all Bougainvillians to resolve their differences. Consultative meetings were held between the BIG, the BRA and the seven Bougainville Interim Authorities starting on Monday the 29th of August. The Bougainville Interim Government demanded this from the PNG negotiators. Recommendations were then put to a Ministerial meeting held on the 2nd of September.

EXIT PIAS

In the meantime, politics caught up with Pias Wingti. He had resigned from the Prime Minister's job last year in order to thwart a vote of no confidence in him. He was then reelected and became Prime Minister again. The PNG opposition pursued his constitutional coup though the courts and the Supreme Court found that he had acted against the PNG constitution. He was forced to act in a caretaker role as Prime Minister. When the vote for a new Prime Minister was held on the 30th of August, his supporters fled him and supported Sir Julius Chan. Chan was then elected the new Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea. His first priority was the Bougainville issue and peace talks. The one mystery of this little saga is why the PNG Supreme Court brought down its decision at such a crucial time for Pias Wingti. The Supreme Court had been considering this case for some time and the decision could not have come at a worse time for Wingti. Who knows what went on behind the scenes?

CEASEFIRE

The parties agreed to cease operations from the 3rd of September and all military units were to remain in place pending an official signing of instruments of ceasefire. A further clash occurred on the 4th but apart from this, no other fighting has occurred so far. The ceasefire was difficult for the BRA to enforce due to communication difficulties. According to Martin Miriori, despite the best efforts of the BRA leadership and broadcasts over Radio Free Bougainville, it may take weeks for all the BRA units to be contacted.

The Ministerial Meeting was held in the Solomon Islands on the 2nd of September and was chaired by Solomon Island Deputy Prime Minister Francis Saemala. Sir Julius Chan led the PNG delegation and General Sam Kauona of the BRA led the Bougainville Interim Government/ BRA delegation. Called the Honiara Commitments to Peace, this agreement brought in a peace agreement for a cessation of the five year war on Bougainville. Sam Kauona said that the consultative process needed time and should not be rushed. He wanted the roots of the war to be addressed carefully. Mr Kauona stated that PNG fought the war to enforce its sovereignty but the Bougainville people fought to protect their rights, land rights, economic and political rights. The ceasefire came into effect on midnight, Friday 9th of September 1994, seven days after the meeting.

PEACE CONFERENCE

The installation of a South Pacific peace keeping team was seen as a priority. The BIG/BRA team also called for the lifting of the blockade and the planning of a Bougainville Peace Conference to be held in Bougainville. Another issue to be discussed is the political question for a settlement for the people of Bougainville. Moses Havimi from the Bougainville Interim Government said that independence was definitely still on the cards. It was hoped that Bougainville could carve out its own future.

WOMEN THE OWNERS

Concern has been expressed at representation in the Pan-Bougainville peace conference. Bougainville land ownership has traditionally rested with the women. The principle negotiations have taken place between men so far. Let's hope that all Bougainvilleans can decide their own future and that groups such as the Panguna Womens' Association will have a strong and representative voice in the future of Bougainville. The Bougainville Interim Government has stated that talks will take place between all people, women and men.

PEACEKEEPING?

The South Pacific Regional Peace Keeping Force itself seems to be contentious.Some observers have stated that 200 troops and 2 weeks to prepare for the Pan-Bougainville peace conference is not enough time. With 1000s of people to go to the conference, it seems that a few peacekeepers would find it difficult to guarantee the safety of Bougainvillians all over the island. It is proposed that a handover of arms by BRA to SPRPKF take place but the BRA obviously don't want them in to end up in the hands of the PNGDF. The haste at which the force has been set up and indeed the whole peace process is unseemly. General Sam Kauona of the BRA has expressed deep dissatisfaction with the arrangements being made. He said that there was supposed to be close consultation between both sides. This has not been taking place.

INNOCENT BYSTANDER?

There is also concern about Australia's role. The BRA feel that Australia is a party to the war and should not lead the peacekeeping force or enforce the border arrangements. Australia is supplying warships, logistics and funding for the peace process. Australia may possibly be manipulating the process to gain an outcome favourable to its interests and in the event that the peace process fails would have substantial forces in the area, nationals at "risk" and a perfect excuse to intervene like the USA in Grenada or Haiti.

DIVISIONS ON BOUGAINVILLE

The distrust between the BRA and the Bougainville Interim authorities seems to be only exceeded by their mutual unhappiness with the way the peace arrangements are going. The Wakunai resistance leaders won't observe the ceasefire unless Chan goes and talks to them. They want the PNGDF to stay and are not happy with the BRA. Nick Penalai from the South West Bougainville Interim Authority, for instance, could find that a Peace settlement will leave him out on a limb. This applies also to the so called "Cease fire BRAs". These people are renegades and criminal raskols who were in the BRA earlier then joined resistance forces. They allegedly committed many atrocities. They may find their position similar to that of the South Vietnamese supporters of the US when Saigon fell; Get on the boat or off to "reeducation" camp.

The PNGDF are also are spreading disinformation. They spread a story that Sam Kauona was not the BRA representative and had been kicked off Bougainville. Clearly, this is absurd. It seems that there are some groups in the PNGDF who don't want to pull out of Bougainville at any price. But they may be brought under control. Brigadier General Daedemo was sacked by Sir Julius Chan because of long term animosities and his bungling of the last offensive and inability to bring the PNGDF in Bougainville under the control of the central PNG government.

The time is not one for complacency or belief that the war is now over. The situation on the ground is very sensitive. A ceasefire is a very delicate military state of affairs and relies completely on good faith and consultation. And the restoration of essential services must be a priority for all Bougainvilles sake. But if Australia intervenes, Martin Miriori has said that if peace fails the fight will go on.

Brendan Greenhill

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DUMPING AND BUSSING IN WAYNE'S WORLD

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police directly involved in the incident are finished, with their careers in tatters. The CJC have proceeded with a Misconduct Tribunal hearing in which the police involved were compelled to answer questions. The CJC has sent briefs to the Director of Public Prosecutions in which it is believed that charges have been recommended against the police involved. It is yet to be seen if the DPP will have the intestinal fortitude to proceed with criminal prosecutions against the police. The Police Commissioner can also proceed with internal disciplinary measures. I might point out here that all the police involved (a seventh was not directly involved in the alleged abduction but is under investigation) have made no direct admissions on the public record and that they must be deemed innocent until proven guilty. But as Police Minister Paul Braddy said, "If the allegations are proved to be true, They were improper and will not be tolerated."

The element of ethnic cleansing evident in the "Clean Up The Valley" campaign is mirrored in the recent repatriation of a group of 24 Murri adults and children from Cairns to the Lockhart River Community on Cape York Peninsula. The group became stranded at Wenlock River where one of the buses broke down. That incident is under investigation by the Human Rights Commission. The two incidents directly endangered the lives of 27 Aboriginal people, however thousands more languish in custody as result of the same institutionalised racism.

The issues of poverty and homelessness underlying the two cases are products of the continuing colonialist nature of the relationship between the state and indigenous peoples. Aboriginal children are massively over-represented in both the justice and welfare systems. Their removal from their culture and people and resulting cultural genocide is little improvement on past assimilationist policies of exiling communities onto missions and removal of children from families.

Official policies continue to ignore legitimate demands for self-determination and prefer to further extend the web of social control over Aboriginal peoples by increasing contact with various agencies of the state. The inability of our society to deal with the consequences of our colonial history is reflected in the abduction of the Pinkenba children so as to not disturb the "cappuccino class" of Brunswick Street Mall. Similarly, the allegedly forced repatriation of Murries away from Cairns appears to have been an attempt to hide homeless Aboriginal people from tourists. Class as well as race issues are evident in both incidents.

But all of this takes us back to the two horned dilemma of the CJC credibility crisis and Police Aboriginal Relations. The Cape Melville Foxtail Palm Affair was conducted in a closed hearing and yet documents have been passed on to the defendants which may have greatly disadvantaged their accuser in the inquiry. That inquiry recommended that it become an offence to disclose that a complaint has been made to the CJC. We see here the creation and use of an "independent" inquiry to increase the powers of suppression of contentious issues that displease the powerful and their agents. More of "blame the victim". The Laurelle Saunders affair has raised eyebrows with claims that crucial evidence which came to the notice of her lawyers late in the inquiry was not accepted by the CJC. And the Yock affair has raised more questions than it answered. The CJC chose to have a full open inquiry despite the families of the Murri youths involved requesting closed hearings. The call for the reopening of the Yock inquiry in the light of new forensic evidence and the CJCs inability to interview all witnesses to that death highlights its role in shunting those victims of state power into a sideshow merry go round where $100 a word lawyers can demolish inarticulate witnesses. And yet, when powerful people are the subject of the CJC, as in the Cape Melville Affair, they seem to have no difficulty in obtaining closed hearings despite the obvious public interest in allegations surrounding Wayne Goss' private secretary. Welcome to the Queensland version of the New World Order.

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YOCK WHITE WASH

I was in a Texas jail when the Rodney King verdict came down. An all white jury vindicating the Los Angles police who beat their black prisoner senseless. Nothing out of the ordinary for the L.A.P.D.- except there was a home video rolling. For the next year America saw the images of the helpless King on his knees as the white boys of the L.A.P.D. swung their batons like baseball bats. At the trial of the four police officers, the legal technicians kicked in pushing the buttons of racism and fear and the 12 jurors affirmed the brutalisation of Rodney King. The verdict came down in conflict with both image and reality and L.A. burned- 55 dead, 2,500 injured, 12,000 arrested and $4 billion damage.

There was no video rolling in West End last November 7th, when Daniel Yock was tackled to the ground, knocked unconscious, cuffed behind the back, thrown into the back of a police van and left to die. What was rolling immediately after his death was the Labor Party/Police consensus machine to market the killing of Daniel Yock. A machine to combat the Roma Street demonstration of grief and rage within 24 hours of killing and the 4,000 strong silent march and exorcism of the watchhouse a week later. To head off this mass demonstration, Minister Warner was dispatched to Roma Street Forum to collect petitions and save us (or them?) the march to Parliament House.

Goss, Wyvill, Plunkett and Associates - all who build their profiles and careers on the civil liberties movement of the seventies - swung into action to sell this death. The C.J.C. Inquiry proved to be an effective tool in damage control and managing dissent. The C.J.C. managed to keep intact the now internationally recognised perfect score of no charges laid in an Aboriginal death in custody. As in the Rodney King case, the police managed to present themselves as "victims", threatening litigation and demanding an apology. These paranoid delusions were matched on the streets of West End and the Valley with stepped up patrols and harassment.

PEOPLE TAKE TO THE STREETS ON APRIL 20TH TO REJECT THE CJC COVERUP

What was most disappointing in the wake of the Inquiry whitewash was the minimal amount of solidarity forthcoming from the white community. This was evident at the South Brisbane Church I attend. Known as the most hip and liberal congregation in town, mass was in full swing there on November 7th , as Daniel Yock was being killed two streets away. This church's lack of response to the Inquiry whitewash was explained by the parish's social justice worker as "people are confused". There was no attempt to mobilise parishioners for the April 20th rally. I'm sure this moral apathy of the parishioners was duplicated throughout the various white scenes in Brisbane.

Vigilling outside the West End police station for an hour each day between the Inquiry's conclusion and the April 20th rally provided ample opportunity to reflect on naked racism and the "confusion" of white liberals. The marketing of Daniel Yock's death secured with the jingles of "He's dead because he was drunk!", "He was no angel!" and "There's been a lot of break-ins in West End recently!".

The racism is as old and as intrinsic as white invasion of this country. The confusion is one of where we stand. Silently behind the security forces that ensure our status and privilege or with the broken body of Daniel Yock, the broken lives of the invaded, the historic price of our privilege. We are confused about where we stand.

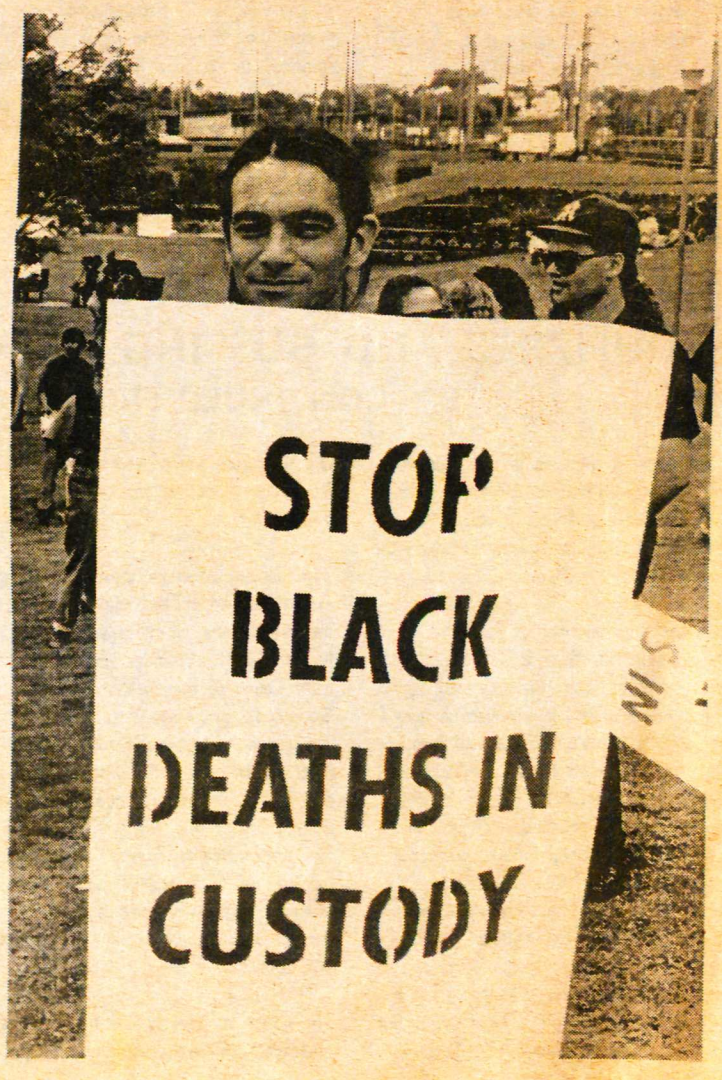
The April 20th rally was about one third the size of November's march. The gathering was predominantly Aboriginal, proving that the community maintains the capacity to mobilise in the face of fear, racism, and white indifference.

They know Daniel's arrest was one more based on police harassment, his death one of criminal negligence.

The whites who gathered were predominantly from the "fringe groups"- Democratic Socialists, Catholic Worker, Anarchist Squatters, West End Feminists. Love 'em or hate 'em, call them sects or call them communities, they were there, weren't confused and continue to struggle with their own racism. There wers also some new faces of the untested young and the "same old faces" from the '60s and '70s who, like those Japanese soldiers found in the Pacific, just don't know the war is over or to cut their losses and sign on with the Goss government.

Led by the emotions, rage and grief of Lionel Fogarty and the analytical clarity of Sam Watson we moved through the streets screaming truth to power. No Minister Warner to meet us this time--just heaps of cops. Mostly on hand and out of sight, some on foot, on bikes, in cars, on horses and even Water Police bobbing up and down under Victoria Bridge.

The killing of Daniel Yock is symbolic of a past, present and future. A recent past of over a hundred Aboriginal deaths in police custody and subsequent cover-ups. A longer history of invasion, dispossession and genocide. A present low intensity conflict to secure the gentrification of the inner city. As Sam Watson put it, "blacks are bad for business"- the police are there to move them on, to deal with them. A future of a growing underclass set adrift from the economy and a militarised police force to deal with them. From Rodney King to Daniel Yock to the police assassinated children of Rio de Janiero--you ain't seen nothing yet.

In such times confusion, ignorance and silence are cultivated luxuries the human family can ill afford.

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